

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 03492 01 OF 04 281141Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01

ISO-00 CU-02 EB-07 NRC-05 /098 W
----- 107577

R 281050Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2486

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5357

AMEMBASSY BLEGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 3492

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION

1. TRANSMITTED BELOW IS THE TEXT OF A PAPER DEVELOPED BY THE NATO
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03492 01 OF 04 281141Z

SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SPC) CONTAINING GUIDELINES FOR USE BY
WESTERN SPOKESMEN IN EXPLAINING PROJECTED CSCE RESULTS TO WESTERN
PUBLIC OPINION. SPC WFFORT WAS LAUNCHED AT US INITIATIVE BOTH
TO DAMPEN EUPHORIA THAT CSCE HAD BROUGHT THE DETENTE MILLENIUM

TO EUROPE AND TO DEMONSTRATE DEGREE TO WHICH CSCE NEGOTIATIONS

#-\$ -55-8,3\$ &9-) 97 ?6 23 5.

2. PAPER WAS "NOTED" BY THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL (NAC) JUNE 27 WITH CAVEAT THAT IT CANNOT BE CONSIDERED FINAL DOCUMENT UNTIL THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED. CURRENTLY CLASSIFIED "NATO CONFIDENTIAL", CLASSIFICATION OF THE PAPER WILL BE REDUCED TO "NATO RESTRICTED" ONCE CSCE STATE II HAS CONCLUDED. "NATO RESTRICTED" CLASSIFICATION IS EQUIVALENT OF US "LIMITED OFFICIAL USE" AND DOCUMENT SHOULD BE TREATED ACCORDINGLY.

3. DOCUMENT IS SUBJECT TO FURTHER AMENDMENT AS REQUIRED BY CONCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS DURING REMAINDER OF GENEVA PHASE OF CSCE. MOREOVER, SPC IS DEVELOPING AN ANNEX TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON SPECIFIC ELEMENTS IN EACH OF THE THREE BASKETS. LATTER DOCUMENT WILL BE TRANSMITTED UPON ITS COMPLETION.

4. SUBJECT TO ABOVE RESTRICTIONS, PAPER IS BEING TRANSMITTED TO ADDRESSEES AS BACKGROUND RPT BACKGROUND ONLY, FOR U.S. OFFICIALS. EXISTENCE OF PRELIMINARY, AGREED ALLIED DOCUMENT SHOULD NOT BE DIVULGED SO AS TO AVOID SENDING SIGNAL THAT ALLIES ALREADY CONSIDER STAGE II AS CLOSED BOOK.

BEGIN TEXT

PUBLIC INFORMATION ASPECTS OF THE CSCE

INTRODUCTION

(A) BY SIGNING THE FINAL DOCUMENTS AT THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CSCE THE ALLIED COUNTRIES WILL INDICATE THAT THEY CONSIDER THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE TO BE A SATISFACTORY STEP IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, WHICH RAISES THE HOPE OF FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS, INCLUDING THE MILITARY SPHERE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03492 01 OF 04 281141Z

THE ALLIES CAN POINT TO A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC RESULTS WHICH THEY HAVE ACHIEVED IN ALL THE FIELDS EXAMINED BY THE CONFERENCE.

THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE WILL HOWEVER IN NO WAY DIMINISH THE NEED FOR MAINTENANCE OF AN ADEQUATE MILITARY DEFENCE-WHICH IS BOTH A PREREQUISITE FOR THE FURTHER PURSUIT OF DETENTE AND FOR THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE.

(B) THE SOVIET UNION AND HER ALLIES CAN ON THEIR SIDE BE EXPECTED TO PRESENT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE AS A FORMAL RECOGNITION OF POST-WAR FRONTIERS AND A MAJOR TURNING-POINT IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS.

THEY WILL BE LIKELY TO DISTORT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE TO PROMOTE THEIR NOTION OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY, AND TO WEAKEN THE POLITICAL DETERMINATION OF THE WEST TO MAINTAIN AN ADEQUATE DEFENCE.

(C) AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE MANNER IN WHICH THE OUTCOME OF THE CSCE IS PRESENTED BY GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE MEDIA IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. MINISTERIAL AND OTHER OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WILL CERTAINLY BE ANALYSED AND COMMENTED UPON BY THE MEDIA, AS WELL AS BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES.

IT WILL THEREFORE BE DESIRABLE TO GIVE A MEASURE OF COMMON EMPHASIS TO WESTERN OBJECTIVES AND ACHIEVEMENTS AT THE CONFERENCE AND TO AVOID DISCORD IN THE PRESENTATION OF BASIC ISSUES; THERE IS THEREFORE ADVANTAGE IN HAVING A COMMON BODY OF MATERIAL AND ARGUMENTS TO BE DRAWN ON AT WILL ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE FOLLOWING IS PUT FORWARD AS GENERAL GUIDANCE.

GENERAL GUIDANCE.

1. OVERALL APPRAISAL OF CSCE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 03492 01 OF 04 281141Z

1.1 THE FACT THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS HELD AT ALL, AND THAT IT CONCLUDED WITH THE APPROVAL OF DOCUMENTS SUBSCRIBED TO BY THE THIRTY-FIVE STATES CONCERNED, OF ITSELF REPRESENTS A CERTAIN SUCCESS FOR ALL THE PARTICIPANTS.

EQUALLY IMPORTANT IS THE FACT THAT THESE DOCUMENTS EXPRESS A COMMON DETERMINATION AMONG THE PARTICIPATING STATES, NAMELY, THAT THE DESIRE FOR UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION MUST PREVAIL OVER CONFRONTATION.

1.2 THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE THE RESULT OF NECESSARY COMPROMISE IN NEGOTIATIONS. IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING THAT CSCE COULD NOT AND SHOULD NOT RESULT IN A SITUATION WHERE SOME PARTICIPATING STATES WOULD SEEK TO CHANGE THE POLITICAL OR SOCIAL SYSTEM OF OTHERS. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD HAVE CAUSED RENEWED CONFRONTATION.

1.3 CSCE IS AN IMPORTANT MULTILATERAL ATTEMPT TO DEFINE AND BROADEN COMMON GROUND IN ALL FIELDS OF CO-OPERATION AMONG ALL THE PARTICIPATING STATES.

1.4 WHILE RECOGNISING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CSCE THE ALLIES VIEW THE CONFERENCE AS ONLY A STEP IN THE DETENTE PROCESS, CREATING POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER ADVANCE.

THIS MEANS BOTH THAT IN THEIR VIEW IT CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AS A CAPSTONE OR TURNING-POINT AND THAT IT SHOULD BE SEEN IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS IN GENERAL.

1.5 THE MAINTENANCE OF AN ADEQUATE DEFENCE IS A PREREQUISITE FOR STABILITY AND FOR THE FURTHER PURSUIT OF DETENTE. THE RESULTS OF CSCE CAN NEITHER REPLACE ALLIED SECURITY, WHICH IS FOUNDED ON COMMON DEFENCE EFFORTS AND COMMON RESOLVE, NOR REDUCE ITS IMPORTANCE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 NATO 03492 01 OF 04 281141Z

1.6 DESPITE THE POSITIVE RESULTS ACHIEVED AT THE CSCE, UNDUE OPTIMISM ABOUT THE FUTURE OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS SHOULD BE AVOIDED BECAUSE:

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 03492 02 OF 04 281207Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01

ISO-00 CU-02 EB-07 NRC-05 /098 W

----- 108219

R 281050Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2487

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5358

AMEMBASSY BLEGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 USNATO 3492

(A) IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN TO WHAT EXTENT THE
RESULTS WILL BE IMPLEMENTED;

(B) THE WARSAW PACT CONTINUES TO INCREASE AND
IMPROVE ITS ARMED FORCES FAR IN EXCESS OF
ITS APPARENT REQUIREMENTS FOR SELF-DEFENCE.
THIS MEANS A CONTINUED NEED FOR THE ALLIANCE
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03492 02 OF 04 281207Z

AND FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF AN ADEQUATE
DEFENCE;

(C) THE SOVIET UNION STILL PROPOUNDS ITS
UNACCEPTABLE CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL
COEXISTENCE" IMPLYING THE NECESSITY FOR
IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION
OR WEAKNESS OR DIVISION IN THE NON-COMMUNIST
WORD BY ANY MEANS SHORT OF WAR.

2. WESTERN DETENTE EFFORTS

2.1 THE HOLDING OF CSCE WAS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE WILL
TO DETENTE ON THE PART OF ALL CONCERNED. IT WAS
THE WARSAW PACT WHICH FIRST PROPOSED THE
CONFERENCE BUT THE ALLIED COUNTRIES HAVE GREATLY
INFLUENCED ITS CHARACTER AND SCOPE IN ACCORDANCE
WITH THEIR OWN CONCEPTS.

2.2 TALKS ON THE QUESTIONS OF MUTUAL AND BALANCED
FORCE REDUCTIONS (MBFR) BEGAN ON THE INITIATIVE
OF THE ALLIANCE IN THE SAME TIMEFRAME AS THE CSCE.
IN EVALUATING THE INFLUENCE OF CSCE ON DETENTE
PROGRESS ON MBFR WILL BE RELEVANT.

2.3 THE SOVIET UNION APPROACHED THE CSCE WITH THE MAIN
AIM OF SECURING FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE STATUS
QUO IN EUROPE. WESTERN COUNTRIES, WHILE
REAFFIRMING THAT THEY EXCLUDE THE ILLEGAL USE
OF FORCE, HAVE SOUGHT AND SUCCEEDED IN KEEPING
OPEN THE POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACEFUL CHANGES OF
RELATIONSHIPS. THE WEST WISHES TO BUILD TOWARDS

INCREASED CO-OPERATION, UNDERSTANDING AND DETENTE
AND REGARDS THE RESULTS ACHIEVED AT THE CSCE AS
INSTRUMENTAL IN THIS PROCESS.

2.4 THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF A DYNAMIC AND CONTINUOUS
EVOLUTION TOWARDS GREATER EAST/WEST CO-OPERATION
AND DETENTE DOES NOT IMPLY A DESIRE TO INTERFERE
IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. IT
THUS DIFFERS FROM THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03492 02 OF 04 281207Z

"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE", WHICH CALLS NOT FOR
IDEOLOGICAL TOLERANCE, BUT FOR UNREMITTING
IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITH THE FINAL AIM OF
OVERTHROWING WESTERN DEMOCRACY.

THE WESTERN APPROACH AIMS AT LESSENING OBSTACLES
TO INCREASED EAST/WEST CONTACTS AND STRESSES THE
ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS, WHETHER SINGLY OR IN GROUPS,
IN THIS PROCESS. THE RESULTS ACHIEVED AT CSCE
APPLY TO ALL PARTICIPANTS IRRESPECTIVE OF THE
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS TO WHICH
THEY MAY BELONG. BY CONTRAST, THE SOVIET CONCEPT
OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" DEALS SOLELY WITH
RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT
POLITICAL GROUPINGS AND DOES NOT APPLY TO
RELATIONS AMONG SOCIALIST STATES.

2.5 DURING THE MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS IN
HELSINKI, WESTERN IDEAS PREVAILED IN IMPORTANT
MATTERS. THUS, IT WAS POSSIBLE:

-TO INSERT INTO THE LIST OF "PRINCIPLES" TO
BE DEFINED THOSE WHICH THE WEST CONSIDERED
ESSENTIAL;

- TO ENSURE THAT CERTAIN MILITARY ASPECTS OF
SECURITY WOULD BE DEALT WITH;

-TO INSCRIBE INTO THE AGENDA OF THE CSCE THE
ELABORATION OF PROPOSALS REGARDING FREER
MOVEMENT AND CONTACTS OF INDIVIDUALS,
THE IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING CONDITIONS IN
THE HUMANITARIAN FIELD, FREER AND WIDER
DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION AS WELL AS
CO-OPERATION IN CULTURE AND EDUCATION.

3. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE

3.1 THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE CSCE WILL HAVE THE
CHARACTER OF A POLITICAL-MORAL DECLARATION OF INTENT
AND WILL NOT CREATE NEW INTERNATIONAL LAW.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 03492 02 OF 04 281207Z

3.2 A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WAS NEGOTIATED AS A GUIDE TO FUTURE RELATIONS AMONG CSCE PARTICIPANTS, IN CONTRAST TO THE EASTERN COUNTRIES, THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE HAVE ALWAYS REFUTED THE IDEA THAT THE DOCUMENT, WHICH WILL BE HEADED "DECLARATION" WILL BE CONSIDERED AS PRE-EMINENT IN RELATION TO THE OTHER CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS RELATED TO CERTAIN OF THE PRINCIPLES:

-THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION MEANS, INTER ALIA, THAT ALL PEOPLES ALWAYS HAVE THE RIGHT, IN FULL FREEDOM, TO DETERMINE, WHEN AND AS THEY WISH, THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL STATUS WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE.

-THE LIST FURTHERMORE CONTAINS THE PRINCIPLES OF THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, I.E. THAT DECLARATION THAT FRONTIERS MAY NOT BE ASSAULTED OR CHANGED BY MEANS OF ORCE, AS WELL AS A CLARIFICATION THAT FRONTIERS CAN BE CHANGED-IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW-BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT. THIS MAKES IT CLEAR, THAT NO STATE IS BEING PREVENTED FROM PURSUING ITS LEGITIMATE INTERESTS BY THESE MEANS.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 03492 03 OF 04 281235Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01

ISO-00 CU-02 EB-07 NRC-05 /098 W

----- 108686

R 281050Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2488

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5359

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 USNATO 3492

-IT IS A REFLECTION OF THE SUCCESSFUL
INSISTENCE OF THE ALLIANCE ON MATTERS OF
CONCERN TO THE INDIVIDUAL THAT A TEXT HAS
BEEN DRAWN UP CONCERNING CO-OPERATION BETWEEN
STATES WHICH SPECIFICALLY RECOGNISES THE
PART PLAYED BY INDIVIDUALS IN DEVELOPING
SUCH CO-OPERATION.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03492 03 OF 04 281235Z

ALL PRINCIPLES ARE OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE.

THEY SHALL BE INTERPRETED IN CONNECTION WITH
ONE ANOTHER AND SHALL BE APPLIED EQUALLY AND
UNRESERVEDLY.

3.3 THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN
EUROPE ALSO INVOLVES A NUMBER OF MILITARY ASPECTS.
IN THE FRAMEWORK OF CSCE THIS IDEA HAS FOUND AN
EXPRESSION IN AN UNDERSTANDING ON CERTAIN
CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES SUCH AS THE PRE-
ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR MILITARY EXERCISES AND THE
EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS. THESE MEASURES WILL
HOPEFULLY ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER POLITICAL
UNDERSTANDING.

3.4 THE CONFERENCE HAS CONFIRMED THE GREAT IMPORTANCE
OF CLOSER ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION ON THE BASIS OF
RECIPROCITY OF ADVANTAGES AND OBLIGATIONS.
IN THIS CONNECTION IT HAS BEEN AGREED THAT
BUSINESS CONTACTS SHOULD BE FACILITATED AND MORE
INFORMATION ON MARKETS AND PRODUCTION CONDITIONS
SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE.

3.5 FOLLOWING A WESTERN INITIATIVE, THE SUBJECT

"CO-OPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS"
WAS INSERTED INTO THE CSCE AGENDA AS ONE OF THE
MAIN ITEMS. UNDERSTANDINGS HAVE, INTER ALIA,
BEEN REACHED IN THE AREA OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION,
MARRIAGES BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT
STATES, WIDER TRAVEL, GREATER ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND
IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS AND
SCHOLARS. THE ACHIEVEMENTS IN THIS FIELD ARE OF
SPECIAL IMPORTANCE, THOUGH THE PARTICULAR
SIGNIFICANCE OF SPECIFIC ISSUES VARIES FROM ONE
COUNTRY TO ANOTHER ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES.

3.6 CONFIDENCE AS A BASIS FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS CAN
ONLY BE BUILT IF GOVERNMENTS WILL RESPECT, IN
THEIR DAY-TO-DAY ACTIVITIES, THEIR DECLARATIONS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03492 03 OF 04 281235Z

OF INTENT. FOR THIS REASON, THE CSCE
PARTICIPANTS WILL, AFTER AN AGREED PERIOD HAS
ELAPSED, MEET AGAIN AT THE LEVEL OF SENIOR
OFFICIALS TO ASSESS DEVELOPMENTS AND TO
CONSIDER POSSIBLE FURTHER INITIATIVES IN THE
FIELD OF MULTILATERAL DETENTE(1).

4. EFFECTS OF CSCE

4.1 IN ADDITION TO THE RESULTS WHICH ARE BEING LAID
DOWN IN WRITING, THE CONFERENCE HAS INITIATED
DEVELOPMENTS AND STRENGTHENED TRENDS WHICH ARE,
OR MAY BECOME, IMPORTANT FOR THE FURTHER PROCESS
OF DETENTE.

4.2 AN IMPORTANT POSITIVE RESULT FOR THE WEST WAS THE
SUCCESSFUL TEST OF SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE MEMBERS
OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. CSCE HAS STRENGTHENED
COHESION AMONG THEM. THE ROLE OF CANADA AND THE
USA IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS HAS BEEN REAFFIRMED.

4.3 THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAS PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY
IN THE DISCUSSIONS AND THE POLITICAL CO-OPERATION
OF THE NINE HAS PLAYED A MAJOR PART IN THE
ACHIEVEMENT OF RESULTS WHICH WILL BE OF VALUE
TO THE WEST.

4.4 THE CONFERENCE HAS REVIVED THE AWARENESS AMONG
MOST NON-COMMITTED AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES AS WELL
AS AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE
THAT THEY SHARE THE SAME IDEALS AND PURSUE
IDENTICAL INTERESTS IN MANY FIELDS.

(1) FINAL WORDING OF THIS SENTENCE TO BE LOOKED AT IN THE

LIGHT OF THE FINAL OUTCOME IN GENEVA)

4.5 THE PROCEDURAL PRINIIPLE OF CONSENSUS STRENGTHENED
THE FEELING OF INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 03492 03 OF 04 281235Z

OF SOME COUNTRIES, EVEN IF THIS COULD NOT ALWAYS
BE OPENLY EXPRESSED.

4.6 FINALLY, AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE CONFERENCE
IS THE VERY FACT THAT AS A RESULT OF THESE
THIRTY -FIVE COUNTRIES COMING TOGETHER, THEREHAS
BEEN JOINT DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN PROBLEMS WHICH
WERENOT DEALT WITH BEFORE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.
THE CONFERENCE HAS SHOWN THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO
FIND WHERE COMMON SOLUTIONS CAN BE ATTEMPTED.
IT HAS ALSO SHOWN WHERE DISAGREEMENTS WILL REMAIN
FOR AN UNFORESEEABLE FUTURE.

5. THE POST-CSCE PHASE

5.1 THE POST-CSCE PHASE WILL UNDERLINE THE ALL-
IMPORTANT FACTOR IF IMPLEMENTATION. THE EXTENT
TO WHICH THE AGREEMENTS ARE IMPLEMENTED IS THE
ONLY TRUE CRITERION FOR A FINAL JUDGEMENT ON THE
CONFERENCE, AND FOR PLACING IT PROPERLY IN THE
OVERALL PERSPECTIVE OF DETENTE.

5.2 THE OUTCOME OF THE CSCE IN NO WAY IMPEDES THE
PROCESS OF UNIFICATION IN WESTERN EUROPE.

5.3 THE CSCE IS NOT DESIGNED TO PAVE THE WAY FOR
A PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM.

5.4 THE CSCE RESULTS ARE NOT DESIGNED TO FREEZE THE
EXISTING SITUATION BUT TO PUT THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE PEOPLES AND INDIVIDUALS OF THE
PARTICIPATING STATES ON A MORE FRUITFUL, SECURE
AND CO-OPERATIVE BASIS. ONLY IF THIS PROVES
POSSIBLE WILL CSCE FULFIL THE HOPES PLACED IN IT.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 03492 04 OF 04 281243Z

42
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01

ISO-00 CU-02 EB-07 NRC-05 /098 W

----- 108840

R 281050Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2489

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5360

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 USNATO 3492

6. PRACTICAL STEPS

6.1 ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES MAKING STATEMENTS ON THE CSCE FOR THE BENEFIT OF PUBLIC OPINION WILL BE ABLE TO DRAW ON THE VARIOUS IDEAS SET OUT IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS. IT IS DESIRABLE THAT IN SO DOING THEY GIVE PREFERENCE, AS FAR AS THIS IS CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03492 04 OF 04 281243Z

AT ALL POSSIBLE, TO THE INTERPRETATIONS ON WHICH ALL THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE AGREED. THIS MEANS REAFFIRMING THE BASIC FEATURES OF THESE STANDPOINTS AND INTERPRETATIONS WHICH ARE THE FRUIT OF YEARS OF DISCUSSION AMONG THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IN CONNECTION WITH THE HELSINKI AND GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS.

6.2 THE END OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE A GOOD TIME TO BEGIN THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION. THIS SHOULD BE INTENSIFIED, PARTICULARLY IN THE FINAL STAGE, PRIMARILY IN THE STATEMENTS TO BE MADE BY THE ALLIED COUNTRIES'

REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CONFERENCE IN HELSINKI.
AT THE SAME TIME THE MASS MEDIA SHOULD BE
INFORMED OF THE ALLIED INTERPRETATIONS.

6.3 IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS BE
PREPARED, AFTER THE THIRD STAGE OF THE SCCE, TO
EXPLAIN AND TO REITERATE TO THE PUBLIC THE BODY OF
PRINCIPLES BY WHICH THEY CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED
BOTH AS REGARDS THEIR OWN APPLICATION OF THE
CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE AND AS REGARDS
THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE
PRINCIPLES BY THE OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES.
END TEXT
STREATOR

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO03492
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750698/abbrzktp.tel
Line Count: 611
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 12
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <25 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE
To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
BLEGRADE
BERN
BERLIN
BUCHAREST
BUDAPEST

DUBLIN
HELSINKI
MADRID
PRAGUE
SOFIA
STOCKHOLM
VIENNA
WARSAW
BERLIN
GENEVA
SALT TWO GENEVA

Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006